[For material on the "il-oshon" ("ol-osho," singular), which may be either a tribal unit or a strictly political territorial unit or even both (discrepancy in the literature between sources # 9 and 13) see also category 634.]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyu. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Mafgana, Mokenen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PART IV

'OROT OO-'L-MAASAE

DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Olkop or Il-Lumbwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Gidongi (the medicine-man's horse), Il-Parkanni (the counters?), Il-Laghumasa, Il-partimaro.
Il-Matgusa.	'L-Aitayok, 'Iiria (the designs?), Il-Marumasa (the priests), Il-Makuperia (the flesh on the ribs).
Il-Mokesen.	Il-Mokesen-sata, Il-Partalala (the long-sighted ones), Il-Tartasero, Il-Kiperum (the scars?)[2], Il-Tasap-Owuo (the lion-killers).
Il-Mitelyan.	Il-Mitelyan-sata, Il-Mamasita, Il-Pujus, Il-Kipuytai, Il-Mashitan, Il-Masalgya, Il-Mokuruva.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Matgusa clans as 'L-ondo-kitoto (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokesen and Mitelyan clans as 'L-ormok-kitoto (the black cattle).

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Districts.	Sub-Districts.
Kaputiei or Kaptiei.	'L-ondo-kilani (the blood-red cloths), Matapato, Il-kitoonyokyo (the red trees[3]), Il-dale-le-kutuk (the fat talkers).
En-aipushe (the lake).	Purko, Kisikop (the burning country?), Il-damat, 'L-oitoi.
Kisonga.	Matapo (the Pangani River), 'M-bambi (the valleys), 'K-ongyokyo (the red soils), En-keglani (name of a tree[4] and light yellow), Il-lasgipi (the mistakes).

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.
[2] The members of the family called Il-Kiperum are said to be sub-clansmen and cross-cousins.
[3] Sotokia ashimanokotiarum, Olip.
[4] Terminalia sp.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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824 [484] oltoi, nelgura 'n-gujit enelgaki, ana ije metam enditki nolo nilgura.

Enyor il-Masae 'n-gujit naieng, ana ije: 'Eiborua ije eng-Ai' 'n-giaku oo 'n-gujit, nilkiór in-dikitin nitaboo 'yook eng-Ai.'

834 [484] Ore 'ng-oingi pikin tee oiry i-figurtyok in-giaku, naitua kulle te-'in-kukuri, nailoghoo, ana ije: 'Enyor eng-Ai.'

833 421 Il-nishiren oo 'l-punot.

Nelgur il-Masae 'l-nishiren.

● [C14] Kata aa-kishitui ol-nishiro kenye kitok le-'n-giskitui pikin.

Naitiki aata 'l-gilat ti-etwa, ai'yitiuni en-gituig injore en-e-'n-giskitui naje, kake en-e-figuain.

E-ata ol 'l-punot; matii en-giskitui nemeta ol-punoto kenye.

Naitiki aare ti-etwa.

Tee ebili en-gituig naiyitiuni 'njore en-oo-'l-Aiser enna-kituig, kake en-e-figuain.

fallen on the road, he pulls up some grass, and throws it on the tree; otherwise he fears that his journey will not be successful.

The Masai love grass very much, for they say: 'God gave us cattle and grass, we do not separate the things which God has given us.'

Whenever Masai women milk their cows, they take some milk from the gourd and pour it away, for they say: 'God likes this.'

The brand-marks and ear-cutting of cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike.

For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way.

There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized.

Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys.

They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner.

If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the Aiser clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person.

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Naa, ten ńk en-giny-kerai, meiteu 'ŋgotonye aka 'a-dikiria.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1].

Il-tauja oo 'l-meneligu[2] loo-'l-tuligunak, oo 'l-aeuria.

People's souls and spirits, and snakes[3].

Ten etaa en-ńk el-tuligani, ańj etaa en-nelaligo el-tau lenye. Naa, ten ńk el-tuligani, ore ɣ' eisoni, ańk ńl el-tau lenye. Ańj eilipi aaaa 'a-gisio: meitiki el-tau apia.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyænas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4].

Kake ten ńk el-ilioni arukí el-karnia, meenkari, ore pe elgwetye o-eaaa lenye, ańj etuwale el-tau lenye, etaa el-aeuri; meio el-aeuri eny-elg oo-'a-gura enyena, meligurua.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them.

Ti-arukí naa ańja, pe meter il-Maasa 'l-aeuria lenye. Naa, ten ainl i-ŋgurtyuk el-aeuri li-ańj, meruki kulle, aaaaj el-aeuri, meio.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away.

Ńl 'l-aeuria aaruk, naa le'a-gisiteni oo-'l-kimer; naa, ten ter likae ańl 'l-anyany, ańja: 'Kimer, aaee 'l-kulenelg'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the Kimer clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them.

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, Schlangen, pp. 190, 192; and Emin Pasha in Central Africa, p. 298, &c.).

[2] Il-tau, the heart, mind, soul; el-meneligani, the corpse, spirit, ghost.

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, loc. cit., pp. 187, 188; Schweinfurth, The Heart of Africa, vol. i. p. 93; Casati, Ten Years, p. 91; Emin Pasha, loc. cit., p. 299, &c.). The Bahr-el-Ghazal tribes consider snakes are embodied in certain trees and harmless snakes, whose their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, Primitive Culture, vol. ii. pp. 8, 239).

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, loc. cit., pp. 109, 188).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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778 825 Esta ali en-gishómi naji l-Tartuero l-aeuria lenye mashe. Nas, ten tuesre el-tolgani loo-l-Tartuero el-likae, pe mishte, neipet l-aeuria lenyuna, ntje: 'E-nle o'ng-eji e-ytye, talekuye!' Nas, ten aita ekwat lidoinaure, nepwitua, l-aeuria aaap.

The Tartuero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snake will come and bite him.

[148] Esta ali kulye-shomito l-aeuria lenye. Eliti l-aeuria nolkuo, netii l-aayokiye, netii ali l-aayuni. Eliti l-kolikae enata en-dikii netii e-nuri nana el-kila loo-l-nairua, nolkuo kulikae l-kaghuny nana el-nairua kituk.

The other Laua and families have their secret snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a head like an old man's look, others again have white heads like very old people.

[840] Eji ali nata l-olimuk l-kulenyuna netii el-lasua.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

944 945 947 Eiji tua ta kulikae-tolgunak kituak nana 'il-Ibityany, ore pe enukuri, nayuo l-nanja lenye nag-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 824 Tua ainare el-tolgani, nanolinaki likae-tolgani ainytye, Ainytye akiti, nare eji: 'Elmeki nanilim el-tua lenye ainainyanye, aiki.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for if a thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

795 825 Eje l-Kisuna netii l-nanolige, nana nanisi; kaine eji aisi la-gishu, naa tua ailgurusa l-a-gishu gishin a-enji aaiu, aiji aisi il-nanolige arukii el-kwaru.

The Kisuni say there are no evil things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is accounted that aaiu are there, and when a herd of aaiu all pass at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] Vide p. 308.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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enye ake eje eake en-netejo
el-eiboni.

Ore ten tuuk el-eibuni en-
gidoleg, pe ell 'l-tuligunuk
eperten te-'ag-eitei, ntijiki
'l-tuligunuk: 'Aligus epai,
ano maidoore 'a-gujak en-'l-
tuligunuk eperten nanik.'
Kitilo ell ten eperten 'l-
tuligunuk te-'a-nelakwa.

Nus, ten eleuo el-eibuni
en-dikí, nenero nellakiki 'l-
tuligunuk; enenye ten-'a-gitan-
yanyikat, nelvak il-tuligunuk.

Anno el-eibuni ope ilj
Kenye-Ngope, nellunitiki 'l-
morua le-Kilepo nolyka nepero
en-jore, nenayy, ilje:

'Perperi 'l-ellgak,
Kilepo tarak,
Perperi 'l-ellgak,
Nanarerito en-dolgani.'

Kenye 'l-morua le-Kilepo
en-jore, ntar il-Akuan, natum
e-nanua en-'a-gidoo, nolon 'l-
kolikua.

Kije: 'Eiolaiye en-epe-
netije el-eibuni.'

Ore 'l-ellunuk pikis il-
Aiser, le-'ag-ejl en-'a-Gidoleg.
enje en-a-'l-Gimonja nenki en-
a-'Ilgirisiaki. Ore Gl-Gimonja
a Il-Ilgirisiaki 'a-gure a-'l-le-
Kwaiya.

not correct: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen.

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or an ox, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophesy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are also off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in question, and the people reply.

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ngope made medicine for the warriors of Kilepo before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang:

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be beaten by Kilepo.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepo went on their projected raid against the people of Kaiso[1], and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kidongi, [illegible] of the Aiser clan, and they are the descendants of Gl-Gimonja or of Il-Ilgirisiaki[2], the sons of Gl-le-Kwaiya[3].

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The sun of sickness (?).
[3] The Somali.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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791 Ore tue-'l-ellomuk pikis Ol-Oonos ol-kitok loapo. Kiapo ngol Il-Maiana pikis, ntijo el-aitoriani loapo.

791 193 Ntij Ol-Oonos ee-gerai e-'M-Ibityany, e 'M-Ibityany ee-gerai e-Supet, e Supet ee-gerai e-Sironik, e Sironik ee-gerai e-Kipeyeio, e-Kipeyeio ee-gerai e-Parisyombo, e Parisyombo ee-gerai e-Kidongi, e Kidongi ee-gerai e-'Ilgirisioki.

791 793 614 Ore ee-gliarunto ue-'l-ellomuk ntij enotiki Ol-le-Mewiya eiee te-'a-gepar e-'l-doiapo loo-'l-Aiaer tualitue te-'ap-ai. Ketum Il-Aiaer, ntijo ee-gerai aaee oti naledig, nanik ang, eeeyerili el-ellomi, naiyeuioloo, nolo 'a-gure.

Ore etue ee-tok, ntijiki 'a-gure eupese: 'Eaioloo te-'aee.' Ti-eroki taee ntijo pe nolooo Il-Aiaer Ile-doiapo.

791 789 Ore tue-'l-ellomuk pikis Ii-epe 'M-Ibityany el-kitok.

Ntij epe etue eiee epeetue 'l-kiteapue kooee-kwapi, eitoko 'l-nolgunuk: 'Kperiee elioipo 'l-nolgunuk nolooo kolle-nalooo.'

Ore ol iooo-kote etue eiee

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supet, who was the son of Sironik, who was the son of Kipeyeio, who was the son of Parisyombo, who was the son of Kidongi, who was the son of Il-Ilgirisioki, the son of Ol-le-Mewiya.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mewiya came down from heaven and was found by the *Aiaer* clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the *Aiaer* clan to their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had sons.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the *Aiaer* clan do not go far from their mountain.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Again, before he died he told

[103] [1] Generally known to Europeans as Kenya or Donyo Lenana. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Ilaip ologo, a 'no legend' (the spot is sacred to the Ander River), Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiaer, and Ol-doinyo le-'l-le-Mewiya.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Massai FL12

631 the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors", called *el-murgutia*, pl. *i murgut*. According to MERKER, [1] "in every section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and territorial organization for its recruits are gathered from different villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power. [2]

* * *

● 614 Massai society is divided into two moieties, *en dalooki*, pl. *in de-loloito*, which seem to provide a basis for class organization. Every Massai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after cattle, *ene: orok kitony* — the black cattle, the other: *nolo nongi* — the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties, but, they seem to have an influence on military organization. "Whenever", writes MERKER, [3] "the representatives of the clans take part in a raid", they are organized according to their society, and the host is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main groups". [4] MERKER, states that the words *orok kitony* and *nolo nongi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their society. FOURNEREAU, [5] writes that the *orok kitony* "are regarded as the right hand of the tribe", and the *nolo nongi* as the "left hand". He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Massai".

614 614 At the present there is no apparent relationship between the society and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laikipiak section, according to FOX [6] there is an equal number of "black

[1] MERKER, l. c., p. 55.
[2] BERNARDI, l. c., p. 306.
[3] MERKER, l. c., p. 305.
[4] See also MERKER, l. c., p. 97; FOX, *Further notes on the History of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 40, 1910, p. 457; BEECHER, *Ethnology of S.Kavirondo and other East African tribes*, Cambridge 1910, p. 101, who states that the society divisions were followed for cattle-branding purposes. Among the Turkana the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or cries and mutual movements. See BEECHER, *The Turkana of Lokoria District*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 40, 1907, pp. 188 s.
[5] FOURNEREAU, l. c., p. 46.
[6] FOX, l. c., p. 457.

3: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1935 FL.11 Masai FL.11

cattle" and "red bulls". HOLLIS,[1] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the moieties.

The Masai *clans*, *ol piloto*, pl. *il piloto* or *en pilotoni*, pl. *in piloto*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOLLIS,[2] and the author of M.S. No. 45 have recorded the names of a few clan totems. FOX,[3] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans.

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individual unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan than his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoption, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his parents, such as cattle or any other valuable.

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very close. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring *manyattas*. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Kishiliau* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Ainpoli* clan is predominant in Dalalekutuk section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOLLIS,[4] "governing the distribution of the various *pilot* (clans); often members of as many as three *pilot* will be found in one *nare ongang* (elders' village) or a *nareu manyat* (warriors' village)".

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FOSBROOKE[5] writes: "The

[1] HOLLIS, l. c., p. 466.
[2] HOLLIS, l. c., p. 280.
[3] FOX, l. c., p. 466.
[4] HOLLIS, *Masai Uganda. An ethnological survey*, London 1905, p. 280.
[5] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 46.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

clansmen frequently meet on the water, and other matters — marriage, debts, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal". Clan ownership does not exclude individual ownership, which is integrated by the former as a sort of higher supervision. The point is that no clan property must be passed over to other clans without the owning clan's approval. HOBLEY,[29] states that cattle used to be marked by a clan brand showing clan-possession, and sometimes by a brand of the individual owner.

The corporate bond arising from clan relationship is confirmed by cases of murder compensation. Even if a murderer is a wealthy man, and might pay all the compensation out of his own stock, "the other branches of the clan would still contribute and they would pay their share". However, "if a Masai kills a member of his own branch of the *gilat* he pays compensation himself, and the other branches do not contribute".[30] LEAKEY, on the other hand, was told by his informants that no compensation is expected when a man kills a member of his own branch. They say: "what would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan!"[31] HOBLEY reports further that "each branch of the *gilat* to whom the murdered man belongs, receives a share of the compensation: 2-3rds to the murdered's father", and the rest is distributed among the other elders of the clan.[32] This is also confirmed by the notes of MAGUIRE on the penal code of the Masai.[33]

One should note that the corporate bond formed by clan relationship is of a particularist nature. It ties members to their own clan in opposition to other clans within the same tribe.

* * *

The many efforts of the Administration to identify a native political institution for local government make a very interesting piece of etnographical history. First in Kenya, and also, after 1918, in Tanganyika, one *laibon* was recognized as the Paramount Chief of the Masai. In Kenya such an office was abolished in 1918, while a graded system of councils was introduced: a Central Masai Council, 14 Native Councils and local Headmen. They acted as tribunals,

[29] HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 120.
[30] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 120; FRAZER-HOCK, l. c., pp. 43 s.
[31] LEAKEY, *Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 338.
[32] HOBLEY, l. c.
[33] MAGUIRE, *The Masai Penal Code*, in *J. A. S.*, 38, 1938, pp. 13 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

do not hold their own ceremony come to, or acknowledge, the Kakonyuke ceremony. This is a point to be carefully noted.

Embolosat is preliminary not only to the circumcision ceremony, but also to any other initiation ceremony.

Three different stages make up the whole of the ceremony, namely the election of the master of ceremonies, the contest, and the sacrifice of a bull followed by the naming of the age-unit.

a) The ceremony is organised by the elders. Their first task is to select a youth qualified to be master of the ceremonies (*ol opolos ol Kiteng*). They also must obtain his father's consent on payment of some heifers.

The transaction is kept secret because the office is not popular with the youths. The elders' nominee is then seized in order that he may not escape, and told what is in store for him.

Not every boy is eligible for the office, but only a member of the *Laguwasi* clan. The *ol opolos* must wear the garments and the ear-ornaments (*surutya*) of the elders, whose status he is to be invested with, which seems the reason for the reluctance to accept the office. The status of the *ol opolos* is ceremonial and, according to Fox, he has no function outside the *Embolosat*.

The *ol opolos* has to supply the ceremonial bull, " without blemish, colour black with white breast ", [1] and the ceremony is completed at his village which is enlarged for the occasion. [2]

b) The day of the contest is fixed by the elders. In the morning the bull is taken back to the village, while the elders officially introduce the *ol opolos* to the other candidates. These are told to look up to him because he is their *ol opolos*. Then, the elders order the bull into the village and immediately the boys rush in to get hold of it.

Not all the boys enter the competition, only a few from each attending section. [3]

Members of the Kakonyuke section make a point of being victorious. The contest is stopped by the elders as soon as victory is

[1] In the Annual Report, *NAD*, 1936, p. 9, n. 11, we are told that the " black ox is fed one day on milk and native beer, not being allowed to eat grass ".

[2] According to LEAKEY a special new village is built.

[3] LEAKEY writes that " only those candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their houses while the ceremony takes place ".

2:Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

tive as a symbol of the new relationship between the elders and the candidates.

The next stage of *Endongoro-Enjobata* is the election of the unit leader (*alpuroani*). This office is not popular with the boys,[**] and the election is kept as secret as possible from the person concerned. It is not very clear whether the election rest primarily with the boys or with the elders, both have a say in the matter since it is of common concern.[**] The selected person is chosen from the so called *lmpujior*, i. e. "those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held" (WARMBROOKE). This indicates that he must be a man of talent and personality. Some consideration is also given to the clan and family from which he comes.[**] The appointment is forced upon the boy, but only after the approval of his family has been obtained. The insignia of the *alpuroani* is a black cloth, which is presented to him by the leader of the elders. Prayers are also offered for the new chief.

The naming of the age-unit takes place now with great solemnity. Not all the candidates are present but only a few of them.[**] These are called *mojoyoma*. They take part in the ceremony dressed up in full regalia and painted with red clay and chalk.[**]

On the following day a great sacrifice of two bullocks[**] is also

[**] For the same reason given for the *el opoloi*.

[**] WARMBROOKE states that " the names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves ". On the other hand FOX, l. c., p. 480, states that in the first instance the nomination is made by the elders, and if the candidates are dissatisfied with him they may ask for a change. MERKER, l. c., p. 61, states the boys elect one of their number.

[**] Particularly, he must not be a member of the *Kapiroyi* clan, the clan of the Ildiro.

[**] According to DUWEUS, the *mojoyoma* must be 49 if the ceremony is for the " right-hand " unit; 48, if the ceremony is for the " left-hand " unit. These boys must be pure Masai, and must never have killed a Masai.

[**] " The *mojoyoma* ", writes DUWEUS, " assemble in the middle of the village and the *Alpuroani*, having poured honey beer into a trumpet made out of a bull's horn, blows two blasts on it and shouts the name. These is no answer as this name must never be mentioned by anyone. He again blows the horn and shouts out another name and is answered by a shout of 'Ee' from the *mojoyoma*. He again shouts out the name and is again answered by a shout of 'Ee' ". The name is later announced to the other candidates by the leader and the *mojoyoma*.

[**] The sacrifice of the bullocks (one must be entirely white, the other entirely black) is ended by great ceremonial. The two beasts are smothered and

SOAS Mallia G-3 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Maasai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will in turn give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-ngui, ol-ke'ng-ngui* etc. A nephew, for instance, may go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he may slaughter a goat, or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man may go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if to some done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-ngwaiani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-ngwaiani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed by his relative, and as payment receives two out of every pair of twin grass hoes.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is on exactly the same lines (*ol-ke'ng-'ninye*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the son's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-class.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Maasai are divided into five clans: *Il-Loita, Il-Kidongoi, Il-Kishumu, Il-Matapato,* and *Il-Purkomi*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, e.g. the *Il-Loita* contain amongst others the following: *Il-ginkidyat* and *Il-Purkomi*. No man belonging to the *Il-ginkidyat* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkomi* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Kidongoi, Il-Kishumu, Il-Matapato,* or *Il-Kutonyokie* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same (with) marital relations to all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the Il-Chamus and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1905), Dobley states (p. 101) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Maasai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (1) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (2) that no man may marry a cousin related than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of relationship used are strictly correct.

On August 1st, 1919, Dr. S. W. Stannard was placed in charge of the Rural Reserve. In February, 1919, he submitted a scheme for the administration of the Reserve. This memorandum dealt with the following points:—

Divisions and Sub-Divisions.—The Rural being a force of constable habits, equipped, armed, & with arms, and concentrated in no particular locations, he considered that effective administration could not be carried on by officers remaining at Head Stations. Constant travelling was necessary, and he advocated the establishment of new central stations only, with four or five outposts at each of which a small force would be retained for the visiting officer, with a few tents for his staff. The central station would be situated near the Town Station, or on the River Steamers, and would be the headquarters of the officer in charge. In this way, economy and mobility would be combined with efficiency. He suggested the creation of outposts in the Chilcotin near the Anglo-German frontier, in the Lower Valley or on the Upper Nass, on S. Wells, at Ogden, and among the Lakemen, or in the Skeena Valley area.

Each central station of an officer in charge, a Native Chiefs Constabulary, four Assistant District Constables, one Police and one Veterinary officer.

Native Administration.—The chief agency of the Rural enforced direct administration of the Acts through their own people previously referred to. The personnel chief was recognized by the whole tribe, but had duties, under Native authority, to discharge, & were thereby taught. The duties could be performed by members of Councils, Elders, Sachems, Headmen, and Chiefs who got from the Government, but their own, through intelligence, were appointed and belong to enough. A few young and energetic men would be included in the ranks of the police Constables, whose functions should be increased, and Mr. Stannard suggested the following appointments as sufficient for the needs of the tribe:—

For the Police Area	...	1 chief and 6 Sachems.
" [illegible]	...	1 chief and 6 Sachems.
" [illegible]	...	1 chief and 1 Sachems.
" [illegible]	...	1 chief as Sachems.
" [illegible]	...	1 chief as Sachems.
" [illegible]	...	1 chief as Sachems.
" [illegible]	...	1 chief as Sachems.

—a total of 19 chiefs and Sachems, in addition to the government chief, for the supervision of some 21,000 Whites and 15,000 square miles of territory.

The nine Divisions mentioned above were, in fact, geographical divisions overlapping in certain cases, but Mr. Stannard proposed the incorporation of each division with the exception of the three in the far of the areas allotted to them, which would be turned [illegible]. The Rural were, he said, agreeable to such an arrangement, realizing that any trouble which might arise would then be localized.

Taxation.—While agreeing that the present form of tax was most suitable, Mr. Stannard considered that the collection of redemption, the discrimination that might be created, and the probable consequent dissatisfaction in the minds were serious objections to the imposition of a capital tax. He therefore suggested a graduated tax of 5% on land per annum, together with a compulsory redemption of 5%, 10 per land per annum towards a fund for development of, and improvements in the country. A revenue of 5% would be thus created, and it was difficult to justify a higher tax. In the alternative, he suggested a tax of one to one and a half per cent. on all assets, irrespective of age or sex.

[illegible]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F112 Masai F112

expenses; for the dumy sold is singularly fatal to the cows' calves, who, under its influence, sleep down paralysed, apparently utterly unable to make the slightest exertion to help themselves. On these occasions you may beat them with a stick till you are tired, but they will simply put their heads between their knees like an obstinate donkey, and whine out, "Si weak," "Si weak" (I am not able). On my return south at Mianzi-ni, to the east of Kilimanjaro, one of these storms came on, accompanied with thunder and lightning of appalling fury and violence. The hail fell continuously for hours, and when it ceased the country was actually white, and resembled an old night. If we had been caught out in that storm, without tents, I question very much if two men would have survived. As it was, so utterly paralysed were they that even in their huts they allowed their fires to go out, and they had literally to be compelled to bestir themselves.

So much for Masai Land. Let us now take up the deeply interesting subject of the inhabitants.

In dealing with the manners and customs of this remarkable race, I think I shall best picture them to the reader not by describing them in catalogue fashion, but by setting forth the prominent facts in the life history of a male and female Masai, tracing their career in the various epochs of their savage existence, and trying to understand their ideas of man and nature, and their sociological relations.

But first of all, let me say a few words more immediately descriptive of the Masai as a race. Learned philologists profess to have discovered from a study of the Masai language—and I suppose the theory may be accepted as correct—that it belongs to the Hamitic family, as does also the language spoken by the tribes of the Nile and North Africa. This seems to be the only clue to their family relationship, and it reveals very little. The reader, therefore, will clearly understand that the Masai are in no sense negroes, or allied to the Zanzibar tribes with which he is so familiar from the works of our most prominent later African travellers. In their mental development, as in their language, they are widely different from the natives of Central and South Africa, occupying in the former respect a far higher position in the scale of humanity.

The Masai tribe is divided into about twelve principal clans or sub-tribes, with numerous smaller divisions. These bury not all the same position in Masai society, some clans having more "blue" blood, and being reckoned of purer

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

GH 505 192 head than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are the Ngojé-Masai, McMillan, Lyeesi, and Leteyo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngojé-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 200). The higher development of the Ngojé-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Siginari, Njiri, Matumbato, Kapté, Dogilani, Lykipia, Guas' Ngishu, &c. The various members of the race are generally designated by their native district. Various clans [504] may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbato," or El-Masai Kapté. Each district also is further distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the [514] [530] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion. 619 623 Wars among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

194 623 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Pare on the west, and Teita and Usambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbarawi. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe reprise, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[Last page read.—Analyst]

8:Whitehouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
I'Sigirari

MASAI SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

By L. E. Whitehouse.

These notes have been prepared from information collected from the Masai who occupy the south-east corner of the Southern Reserve, between Kilimanjaro and the Chyulu Hills. They belong to a large section of the tribe called I'Sigirari. This section unlike other Masai sections is divided into two sub-sections, the Ingidongi, to which all "medicine" men belong and the Il-Kiongo, the majority of whom live in Tanganyika Territory.

The Kiongo living in Kenya distinguish themselves from those of Tanganyika by assuming yet a third name "Il Odokitok." This name is undoubtedly derived from that of a spring "Engotokitok," meaning "bubbling water." It was in the vicinity of this spring that the Masai settled when first they inhabited that part of the country.

I propose to deal with certain customs and ceremonies connected with the founding of a new age-group. For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with this form of tribal government, may I briefly explain that the Masai who is divided into age-groups called *il poror or il-oiyot*. All youths circumcised during a specified period of years are said to belong to the same warrior age and together they form one age-group. In some sections an age-group is formed of two distinct divisions, a senior and a junior, known as the right-hand circumcisions and the left-hand circumcisions. Later a group passes from the status of warriors to that of elders and thus make way for a new age-group to rise to warrior rank.

Masai boys are circumcised usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. The ceremonies which commence about every seven years extend over a period of about five years. When the majority of the youths are circumcised and a warrior age-group of considerable number is secured, a movement is made to prevent any more boys from joining that group. Those responsible for the movement are the elders of the age-group next senior to the warriors at the time. These elders are to become spokesmen and instructors to the members of a new age-group for the formation of which they make preparations.

They first send for a few of the bigger uncircumcised boys and explain that it is proposed to form a new age. In order to do this a ceremony called *enkanyit* must be held. The boys receive their instructions and immediately dye short sticks made from black calf tallow and ochre their heads with red earth that they may resemble warriors. They then set off in procession round the country on what

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kiwoko

years ago, the latter were located in the area lying to the north and west of Lake Rudolph.

The Masai themselves carry their history back to a time when they lived in a lowland called Kisra; this cannot be other than the desert region lying between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. The following is the story of their exodus from that area.

An elder, Mumonio, constructed a ladder or staircase up the escarpment, which, till then, had prevented the Masai from moving south; on the plateau beyond he found good grazing and water. He consequently arranged to migrate, and he and his six sons, followed by the Laikipiak and the Kwavi, successfully negotiated the climb with all their cattle and possessions. The remaining Masai, who had previously been instructed to follow in an agreed order, then cudgel the ladder, which broke under them. They were thus unable to follow.

The story is named Endigiro en Mamuga (the story of the ostrich) and the country at the top Olderja loi dapha (the river of palms). At this latter place Mumonio met with the Laitayok, the Uasingishu and Siria Masai, and the Kipsiria (Lumbwa).

Mumonio has become the culture hero of the Masai, to whom numerous legends have been attached. In one it is alleged that a woman, Naiterokop, came down from Heaven and bore two sons, Mumonio and ol Moiti, the latter being the origin of the Masai and the Sheria. Mumonio is believed to have ordered the Masai to live at peace with their neighbours and, in the event of war, never to kill women or children. The invention of branding cattle as a means of identification is also attributed to him.

His six sons are also alleged to have been the founders of the existing Masai clans, Mbarangiro being the founder of the Laimer, Lelimoro of the Molkonen, Loitip of the Matmoitia, Lelyon of the Middleton, and Lemoro of the Tarmoro. The name of the founder of the Laghuriton is not recorded.

The next event in tribal history is the acquisition by the Masai of the Mollonio Mau or Lelemoiti. The legend of the ancestors of the Lenglan clan finding a lower-born child on Ngong Mountain is recorded by Sidila, who also gives a genealogy in which Lenana's name is the sixth. If [illegible] years is allowed for each generation (possibly an underestimate, since primogeniture is not the rule of succession), the first letters must have been found about the year 1800. This agrees with all my informants, who state that this event took place prior to the earliest remembered age grade, i.e. before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

From the fact that the finding of the letters took place at Ngong, it may be presumed that the period from the exodus to this event was one of slow penetration southward through the Kenya Highlands.

Contrary to the evidence previously recorded, it appears that the advance guard of the Masai had penetrated as far south as Uasgishu (Mpwapwa District) and made contact with the Hehe by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The story is that when the Meriakani were reaching the age of circumcision, two big bodies penetrated into Ungaunetry to a place called Mali (Masai) or Lali (Unga) to search of grass. The leaders of the movement were two uncircumcised youths. One of

9:Footnote G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

There are certain units, which may be termed sub-tribes, whom the "pure" Masai regard as inferior. By "pure" Masai is meant those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda. It is of interest that the word *ol Maasinda* is frequently used in place of *ol Maasai* as the singular of *il Maasai*. Such socially inferior sub-tribes are the Laikipiak, Siria, Uasingishu, and Kwavi, with the Laitayok as possibly a sub-tribe absorbed by the "pure" Masai. The nineteenth century witnessed the ascendancy of the Masai over the "inferior" sub-tribes, whilst in the fifty years which have elapsed since the Great Famine the relations of the sections within the Masai themselves have brought about many changes.

By section is meant a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of their waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oshon*. Above or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers.

The list of sections in Table, divided into districts and sub-districts, is by no means to be of practical value, and for this reason the "Administrative History of the Masai" is taken as a basis for the following list. Those sections which live entirely in Kenya are :—*Kaputei* (a sub-tribe?), *il Dareni*, *il Kaloneyoke* (see Age Grades), *L'Odo Kilani*, *Ngarunya* (Landless living north of Lake Baringo), *il Dala Lalenyok* and *Kapetiei*.

Of more immediate interest to Tanganyika is the *Sighirori*, apparently a section composed entirely of members of the *Singidong* clan. The Administrative History refers to *Sighirori* of *Ngong* and of *Laikipiak*. The area between *Kilimanjaro* and *Meru* is also known as *Sighirori*, and is probably the original home of this section. When their lands were alienated by the Germans they returned to Kenya.

The *Matapato* are another purely Kenya section of interest to Tanganyika, since it appears that their original grazing grounds included *Longido*, *Kimirian*, *Engare Nairobi*, and the numerous small waters to the north thereof. First turned out by the Germans, they again penetrated south at the end of the War, and were again removed by the British, their country being occupied by the *Kisongo*.

Finally the *Laitokitok* are of particular interest to us, in that they are closely associated with the *Kisongo*, and acknowledge the *Mondoli* Laibon. This section appears to be composed of Laibon, *Laitayok* and *Matatian* elements; here as in other areas the *Laitayok* do not live with the other clans, but have independent manyattas, perform separate fertility ceremonies, etc.

A number of sections are divided by the inter-territorial boundary. Of these the *Purko* alone have no pre-European claim to inhabit Tanganyika. On their eviction from the *Naivasha* area a portion of this section moved to the area in the Kenya reserve immediately north of *Loitokitok*. By the end of the War they had penetrated as far south as *Ngarongoro*, whence they were evicted in 1926. All did not, however, return to Kenya; a number settled in the then unadministered area round *Loitokitok*, where

9:Fwabwoko G-5 (1934-1948) 1948 FL12 Mawi FL12
Kiwoko

success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a lukoni of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a lukoni is invited to supernatural and tribe ceremonial affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term lukoni popularly connotes, and is the sense in which the word is used throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

It is very possible that the office of lukoni developed by progression through the three stages outlined above. It may further be assumed that the process took two or three generations to complete, before the lukoni was fully installed in a position of power. For this reason the immediately pre-European conception of the office was not as old as the genealogy would at first indicate.

It is possible to quote examples of practising lukonis, representing each of the three types of medicine men. Any member of the Engidong clan is credited with a certain amount of supernatural power. Not all exercise their gifts, but as an example of one who did, Kabenya, murdered at Longido in 1936, may be quoted. In addition to the Engidong clan, however, numerous clans, particularly Kikoyo, often build up reputations as private practitioners.

Of the second type, those who cater for various groups, the example of Orumo (B) springs to mind. He probably exercised 'group' functions in the supply of charms for cattle raiding, but was brought to book when he tried to usurp the privileges of the elders in the matters of tribal ceremonial. Tarbo (B) was doubtless another member of this class, supplying rooting medicine to the owners of the Longido area. Both these people are of the Engidong clan, but as an example of one who is not, one can quote ole Shange, of the Ngasengare Highland area. He is a Kikoyo, and his activities are not fully understood. He was believed responsible for a series of raids in 1933, and has still got a reputation, known beyond the bounds of his particular area, as a powerful lukoni.

The third type, the acknowledged lukoni of the tribe or group of sections, must always be a member of the Engidong clan. One frequently hears that in olden times all the Masai acknowledged one lukoni, but Mbatian (B) had a lukoni practitioner, if not a rival, in his brother Maba (B), and it is more than probable that many other figures, important competitors to the known holders of office, have been lost to the mists of antiquity. The phrase "all Masai acknowledged one lukoni" requires also a further qualification, as the rival sub-tribes, Uasingishu, Kwavi, etc., had their own medicine men.

The office is hereditary, insofar as the holders must be members of the Engidong clan, and preferably close relations of the deceased lukoni. More distant relations profess themselves to activities of the two inferior lukoni types. There are, however, no definite rules of succession, the

9:Forbrooke G-6 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL18
Kisumbo

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Meibai will visit him without delay.

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies attendant thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a heast last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that X has not helped for many years, and so on.

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which loans to laibon levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and even on occasions like that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, modern transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parit (15) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of his safari to west Kund South Masailand where the boundary was demarcated - the Dorobi paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Wairya (17), on a safari to Kikuyu in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemasina, although she was engaged to another; Kaparwa (20) paid one hoast towards the dowry and contributed the cowskins for the wedding garments. When the girl was brought to Mondul, a number of which cows were presented to Siria the mother of her lord. On the same trip, Wairya demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Loangomi. Tarlai (18) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sonya; the latter asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can to ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either son's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits.

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai northern men and clans which declare much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Kaputei clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the Intimanani child sale-Mwatiya was merely a Kikuyu importer. But it, as we believe, the Masai and Kikuyu were

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1968 FL12 Maori FL12
Kinaoka

But the lauoua is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes on them must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow, as "we can always tell the lauoua what order to give!"

Hollis states that the lauoua is responsible to the ladies for the appearance of the morua in case of war; this may well have been so in the old days, for it is generally admitted today that he is responsible for the smart turn-out of the morua. Thus unless in cases of sickness or mourning, a morua is not supposed to cut off his pig-tail without the lauoua's permission. It is alleged, however, that the office is losing its status and authority, for whereas the Dawra age lauoua is supposed to have gone on frequent "tours of inspection" and to have inflicted many fines, nowadays many Kinaka shave their heads without consulting their lauoua.

During elderhood, by virtue of his previous position, the lauoua is still held in respect, though no specific duties seem to attach to him. He may perhaps play some part at the courts and ogahuru ceremonies of the age next-but-one- before, by virtue of the ai ginua relationship.

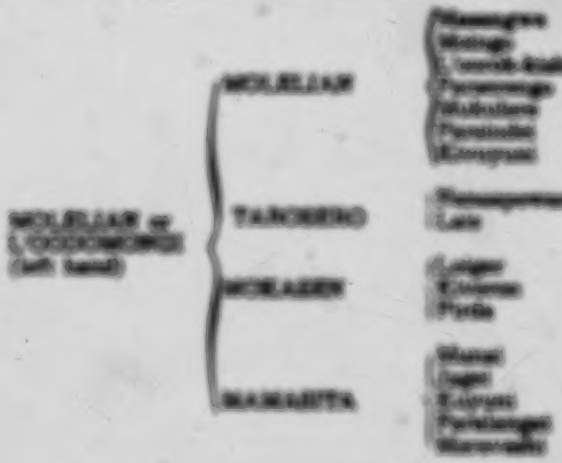
Another official chosen at the courts is called ai kura ongoua, who splits the skin of the ceremonially slaughtered ox. He is given four or five cattle as a fee, and is also life is held in respect, but appears to have no duties.

At the ogahuru ceremony, an official, the Luoroviga, is chosen in respect of the whole generation, whose position corresponds to that of the lauoua at the courts. As there is only one ogahuru ceremony for all sections of the Maori, so there is only one Luoroviga. He duties, but considerable respect, appear to attach to the office in after life.

CLAN ORGANIZATION CHART.

GROUPS	CLANS	SUB-CLANS
Kaikinaki	Kaikinaoua	Ogiuta
	I. Kaguia Maori.	
LAUOUA or LUOKOKOTEMO (right hand)	LAUOUA	Kaginaoua Kaikinaki Kaminga Kaguia Kaoaki or Luokogaka Kaminguru Kaua Kaka
	LUOKOTIKAU	Kaoru Kaikinaka

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1968 FL12 Masai FL12
Kiswahili



Square brackets indicate exogamous groups; which not shown, sub-clans may intermarry.

SECTION V. CLAN AND FAMILY MATTERS.

A. Clans — the clan chart — exogamity of moiety — cross cousins to certain clans — clan responsibility.

The chart reproduced above explains the system more clearly than a lengthy description, but a few explanatory notes are necessary. The true Masai, i.e. those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda, divide themselves into two main groups (endolalian, sing. endolalio), the Laiser or Loonkidong (black bullocks) who are regarded as the right hand of the tribe, and the Molelian or Loodokimojo (blood-red bull), the left hand.

These main groups are in turn divided into clans and sub-clans, called in the chart enghitoni and olgilana respectively. Some informants however reverse the terms. The clans are patrilineal, i.e. a child takes the father's clan. They are also exogamous, i.e. a man may not marry

9:Fonkfonko G-9 (1936-1968) 1968 FL12 Maasi FL12
Kisamba

a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occurs certain payments called *engegit* are made.

The true status of the Loitayok is discussed elsewhere (Sect. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Maasi clans.

One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the ownership of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country was conquered, each woman, so far as he was able, claimed a water on behalf of his clan. Thus all the Kisharova and other Central Maasi wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Longonot, Elmenteita, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is to control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Maasi may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A woman claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water resolved one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, where waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

The value of these tribunals should not be overstressed, since in many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, as in a river or furrow, the water is communal (*engare kongishe*). In other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Loitokitok in Kenya the Matisiro and Loitayok have separate manyatta, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loitoktok it was found to be of great political advantage when the Loitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Loitayok at Engosaman, where the clan forms two-thirds of the local population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle given by descendants to the fathers — himself an Engidong — but may still a *may* present of their own. Where blood-money is paid, it is less when the

9:Fonbrooke G-1 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Mbeni FL12 Kinaku

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Mbeni, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay most. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of subclans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to conclude that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan to greater degree than it does to the subclans.

3. **Family system — the home system — the 'gate' — polygyny — marriage stabilities — number of cattle in each gate — relations in law — inheriting — adoption — economic.**

Briefly, the Mbeni live in groups of families, usually three, two or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three homes in close proximity. Frequently a home is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, sometimes, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Mbeni elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries for places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes to the kraal her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *mgoby* o her. These living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, subclans, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the nearest, earliest village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach adulthood, however, a polygynous family the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other home. More frequently they show little desire for the responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of uncircumcised wandering round the countryside, or living in bachelorage in the bush (*di yat*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has married wealthy.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygyny (see below) is limited by the

[illegible] L. S. B. Leakey. —Some Notes on the Kikuyu of Kenya Colony.

[illegible] and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the various clans. That these young unmarried girls may try to have intercourse with married persons is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase themselves. (See Marriage.)

[illegible] *Preparation for Initiation.*—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new soft skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out as a sort of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *ahoinji*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

[illegible] Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and hyrax skin karosses, and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the council, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the council is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and both groups of boys get hardened and wild themselves to the routine of the candidates for initiation.

[illegible] During the whole time that these *ahoinji* groups are wandering about from village to village they may sleep with any of the unmarried girls in the villages which they visit, even those who are attached to young warriors, provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the various clans.

Ceremony of Skinning the Ox by the Boys.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and hyrax skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of skinning the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and instruct a black ox without any white hair and without any horns of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *ngoima*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-skinning ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-skinning ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but may sit their horses while the ceremony takes place.

Those candidates who are eligible to take part in the ceremony assemble on the day fixed for the proceedings. They come from all parts of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, as there is only one circumcising ceremony in the whole of Masai country before a new age-group proceeds to initiation and circumcision. They wear ordinary everyday dress and carry sticks. The ox is brought into the village by the elders in charge of the ceremony, and the boys are lined up some distance away. A signal is given, and immediately the boys race to the ox, each boy endeavouring to get a firm grip of the ox's horns or of the hump. As soon as two boys have succeeded in gripping those parts firmly, all those boys of the same class present join with their sticks, while all the others endeavour to force the boys to release their grip. Should they do so and should boys of another class succeed in taking their place, they in their turn are attacked by the other class and defended by their own. After a time the elders stop the contest, and those who succeeded in keeping their grip are greatly lauded. The two boys who actually held the horns and hump respectively will be renowned for their success for the rest of their lives. It is a recognized thing that during the contest very many individuals receive more or less serious wounds.

As soon as the contest has been stopped, the ox is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony, and the hide is cut up into small strips, in each of which a hole is cut, and a strip put as a ring on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the boys who participated in the contest. If any skin remains over after each boy has been thus decorated, it is cut into a long thin thong, which is given to a boy candidate of the Lukumai sub-clan (*i.e.* the sub-clan who provided the ox). This boy is called *olokiboni* digatony. This thong must serve to bind us garment with, but the small strips of skin placed on the boys' fingers must be removed a day or two later and thrown down in that part of the boy's mother's house where the calves sleep.

When this ceremony is over the boys go to their own homes to await their turn for circumcision.

Circumcision.—The candidates are not circumcised in groups at local centres, but individually at their own homes, and as the number of operators is limited, candidates may have to wait for anything up to two years before their turn comes. The operators travel from district to district, visiting all the villages where there are candidates, and circumcising them at their own homes. During the interval between the end of the ox-eating ceremony (before which some of the candidates may be circumcised) and the time when his turn to be circumcised arrives, each boy goes back to his mother-herding and carries on with the normal routine life of an uncircumcised boy.

The operators who circumcise the boys are never true Masai, but invariably "Wandorobo" living in Masai country, but an explanation of this would be elsewhere except that it had always been so from the beginning.

from having the honour of the host of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this latter is counted as one of those which count to bestow for the marriage transaction (see Marriage).

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a ghat many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the members of boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a manyatta with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the manyatta, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and here is prepared. A ram called *olokiyaku* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to ensure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and there is a form of circumcision, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl in "cleanse but of the blood split" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *olongwai*. Then a ram is killed called *olokiteme* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally when the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olkerret*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

Part V.—Marriage.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No man, whether a boy, warrior, or a married man, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe (*olosi* (or *laiser*).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:—

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.
(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

[illegible] L. S. B. Leakey.—*Notes Notes on the Maasai of Kenya Colony.*

[illegible] Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

[illegible] *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Maasai had no belief in a spirit life after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

[illegible] *Curses.*—The Maasai had curses in considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately but the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

[illegible] Page VIII.—*Clans.*

[illegible] The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Maasi (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name	*Sub-clans*
No. 1. [illegible]	(1) [illegible] (2) [illegible] (3) [illegible] (4) [illegible] (5) [illegible] (6) [illegible] (7) [illegible]
No. 2. [illegible]	(1) [illegible] (2) [illegible]
No. 3. [illegible]	(1) [illegible] (2) [illegible]
No. 4. [illegible]	(1) [illegible] (2) [illegible]

Page IX.—*Customs and Beliefs.*

[illegible] As a pastoral people the Maasi have many very interesting customs connected with their herds, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

12: Pam G-6 (1928-1938) 1936 FL12 Maasai FL12
Kenya

beer (I do not know the scientific name) not to please laughstorics (Maasai call them *Il Ingoroi*). The mixture is put in a warm place to ferment for two, three, or four days. The alcoholic content varies according to the time it has fermented and the proportion of honey to water. It is sometimes very potent. The *Il Ingoroi* are removed when it is fermented enough. An inferior quality of wine can be made by substituting sugar for honey. 973

Clans.—The Maasai clans are patrilineal. The clan organization governs marriage, 414
adoption, and inheritance. The two last will be discussed later. The clans are therefore of domestic rather than political importance. The clan organization extends throughout all the Maasai, largely (or) prevalent of the territorial section organization. The following instances, however, would seem to indicate that they follow territorial grouping to a slight extent :—

Loitokitok contains about equal numbers of *Loorok Kiteng* and *Loodo Mongi* (terms explained below). The Kaloosi are predominantly Il Molelian, but the other clans are represented. The Il Dalalegutuk are nearly all of the Laimyoki clan. In the Parkes the Laimyoki clan is unrepresented.

The clan name Laimyoki may or may not have a connection with the small territorial section of the same name situated in Enguenyibo Territory. In Kenya Laimyoki is a true clan which divides into sub-clans, and it is as such that I propose to treat it.

All the Maasai clans[1] are organized within two main groups called *Loorok Kiteng*, meaning "the (people) of the black ox," and *Il-oodo mongi*, meaning "the (people) of the red buffalos." (I do not know the origin of these terms.)

If the warriors make a successful raid the raided stock is first divided into two parts, one part for each of these main groups, which then subdivide the spoil amongst themselves.

The *Loorok Kiteng* are comprised by the following main clans :—Il Aiser, Il Laghoosoo, Il Aiteyoki, Il Purtimoro. Sometimes these are loosely grouped together and all called Il Aiser.

The Il Aiser clan proper has the following sub-clans :—Il Ishingi, Il Purkonoi (?), Il Loiborsi, Ilnguji Ilonyoiki, Loodo Kishu.

The Il Aiteyoki subdivides as follows :—Ilsiria, Il Pajoe, Il Mokogonie, Il Kerrosua.

I cannot remember the sub-clans of the Il Laghoosoo or the Il Purtimoro.

The *Loodo Mongi* contains the following main clans :—Il Molelian, Il Damanra, Il Magusera. I cannot subdivide these from memory.

I once wrote down a table of clans and sub-clans, but have not got it to hand. It required considerable labour, because a Maasai himself seldom knows to which main clan he assigns sub-clans other than his own.

[1] Cf. Hollis, p. 280. But the information there given is only partially correct.

[64] The name of the main group 'Loodo nowgi' is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Loodo Kidra' because the former means "the blood-red bullocks and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol pilota* (the clan) and *Enkishomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 280, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Okiep or Il-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives [61] to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

Some clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

'L Aiser el Orosuane Orok (the black cobra ?), 'Laghormae el Amurai Rongai Orok (the thin black snake), Il Dareserre el Amurai Sero (the brown snake), Il Molelian all snakes.

[57] *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years [62] they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for [60] them in the more fertile areas Naivasi Kagare and Il Kelili, west of the Rift valley. An adopted person is called *O-Kiaga*. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his head of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[55] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

[41] [42] *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Betrothal

584 A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks his father to approach her parents; if they agree the girl's head is smeared with fat, and she may no longer live in the same kraal as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him first tobacco, and later on when the girl is older, more tobacco and honey. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Fathers, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young sons and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (as also among the Nandi); and betrothals may take place between warriors and babies, and even unborn girls.

Regulation of Marriage

582, 614 This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (*a*) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but sub-clans are exogamous groups (see below, p. 119); a man may marry a woman of another sub-clan of his own clan. Merker says he may not marry a woman of his mother's sub-clan. Tomlinson Mbasi, however, says that though intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group; Foulkes agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 120). (*b*) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ol-porror*) senior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Circumcision) to a woman of the Left-hand Circumcision. But he may marry one of the same generation[*] (*ol-ayi*). See below, p. 117, for details of the age-set system. (*c*) A man may not marry a woman whose relationship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they call each other *o-le-ostua* and *en-e-ostua*.

Bridewealth

583 Payment of bride-cattle establishes the husband's rights in his wife's procreative faculties and over the children she bears him. The numbers of stock paid seem to vary slightly. Merker gives them as three cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being eaten at the marriage feast), and a ewe and ram to her mother (the ram also being eaten). Hollis says the bride's father is given three heifers and two oxen, one of which is slaughtered "at the door of the hut"; on account of the other ox the man and his father-in-law call each other *pa-kitap*, "giver and receiver of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two rams, which are slaughtered, and a ewe, on account of which he and his mother-in-law call each other *pa-kar* (sheep). Foulkes gives the number as two oxen and three cows or heifers, including the "*pa-kitap*" ox.

Marriage

585 There appears to be little ceremonial at a wedding. The chief occurrence is a feast at the bride's home, of which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly oiled garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to feed. [291] Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (if I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.[**] If the husband is still a warrior he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

[*] Merker, p. 47.

[**] Discrepancies between authorities may sometimes be due to difference of tribe, and not always to incorrect information or mere misunderstanding.

The members of each of these are circumcised in boyhood. Each body forms an age-grading group throughout Maasailand (like the rest of the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic peoples which speak it), and in each surrounding region. There are four such groups in the Right Hand; they are called *Il-ayiok* (sg. *El-ayiok*), "the old warriors," *Il-murran* (sg. *El-murrani*), "the warriors," *Il-aiyalelian* (sg. *El-aiyalelian*) (meaning unknown), and *Il-moiis*, "the boys," junior. The Left Hand, being smaller, has, according to Fosbrooke, only the last three of these groups. Women have no age-sets, but are considered to belong to the *il-piron* which was in formation at the time when they were circumcised.

The main function of the age-sets was to provide a permanent source of man-power for fighting, and through them are still taught discipline and respect for elders; they thus affect behaviour patterns. An attitude of respect is required of junior to senior age-sets, while between members of the same set there is a relationship of equality and a sense of solidarity in their relations with other sets. Membership of a set also involves restrictions on both pre-marital and marital relations, of which mention has already been made. In the old days, the duties of warriors were chiefly to raid, in order to maintain as well as to increase the numbers of cattle; and to defend the country. Warriors were not allowed to drink intoxicants, but they had a number of privileges, which included access to the unmarried girls, and the right to demand milk at any homestead, and to wear the mane. Though officially their fighting duties have been replaced by certain aspects of cattle management, mainly watching and night herding, there is a constant tendency to warn tribal enemies to raid their neighbours.

Clans

Clans (*Il-kishomis*, sing. *en-kishomi*) are divided into sub-clans or primary divisions, *il-ghot*, sing. *el-ghot*. They are dispersed throughout Maasailand, crossing all the tribes (*il-oshon*), and are totemic and patrilineal.* It is not certain how many clans there are, and this uncertainty seems to exist among the Maasai themselves. The exogamous unit is probably the *il-ghot*, though Tomlin on Mbeni says that

	Kisilu	Kisikon	Purkimasi
Clan:	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser
Sub-clans:	En-Kidogi Il-Purkimasi Il-Laikomasi Il-Parmisanie	En-Kidogi (?) Il-Purkimasi (?) Il-Laikomasi (?) Il-Parmisanie (?) Il-Purkimasi (?) Kuti-ayi masyokie (?)	En-Kidogi Il-Purkimasi Il-Parmisanie Il-Purkimasi Kuti-ayi masyokie
Clan:	Il-Laikomasi (According to Tomlin on Mbeni)	Masyoki (?)	Il-Laikomasi Kuria-kuria Masyoki
Clan:	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian
Sub-clans:	Il-Molelian-sero Il-Matasampia Il-Purko Il-Kipeyioni Il-Molelian Il-Sampao Il-Matasampia	Il-Matasampia (?) Il-Kipeyioni (?) Il-Sampao (?) Il-Molelian (?) Il-Purko (?) Il-Purkimasi (?) Il-Purkimasi (?)	Il-Kipeyioni Il-Sampao Il-Molelian Il-Matasampia Il-Purkimasi Il-Purkimasi

[continued]

* In Nandi the senior sept is called *Cepyegin*, usually shortened to *Cepyeek*.
** On the authority of Tomlin on Mbeni.

	Hollis	Merker	Fadiman/e
Clan: Sub-clans:	1) Mokonon 2) Mokonon-nanu 3) Ngwesiak 4) Ngarua 5) Tulag-arrapera ?	1) Mokonon (1) 2) Ngwesiak (2) 3) Ngarua (3)	1) Mokonon [Pale] 2) Ngarua [Brown] [Large]
Clan: Sub-clans:	1) Tarosero 2) Tulag-arrapera ?	1) Tarosero (1) 2) Mokeni (2) 3) Kulugo (3)	1) Tarosero 2) Tulag-arrapera [Lost]
Clan: Sub-clans:	1) Ngesera 2) Lokoronyi 3) Kore 4) Merrenese 5) Mokesenya	1) Ngesera 2) Lokoronyi (1) 3) Kore (2) 4) Merrenese (3) 5) Mokesenya (4) 6) Pupa (5) Name lost (6) (7) Parsaki (7) (8) Kaikuli (8) (9) Parmoloki (9) 10) Pipeta (10)	1) Lokoronyi 2) Mokesenya 3) Pupa Name lost (4) Parsaki (5) Kaikuli (6) Parmoloki [Searching] [Medicine]
Clan: Sub-clans:		1) Merrenese (1) (2) Lokoroi (2) 3) Mosoni (3)	1) Merrenese (2) Lokoroi 3) Mosoni 4) Pipeta

the male clan itself, *en-kitomei*, is the exogamous unit." The 1) *Ajer* clan is that to which all the principal informants, *il-oshomoi*, belong throughout Masailand. (See below, p. 642.) The above table of clans is compiled and adapted from the lists given by Hollis, Merker, and Fadiman.[a] The numbers 1, 2, 3, in brackets in Merker's list denote the groups which Merker calls *ene-kitok'ot* and *entenges-kitok'ot* respectively.

Fadiman's list also 2) *Kurmanita* as a separate clan: the others give it as a sub-clan of 2) *Mokelian*. Merker and Fadiman further group the clans as (1) those of *Enk-o-ji l-Mesem*, "the home of the Moon," 1) *Ajer*, 2) *Lokoroi*, 3) *Mokelian*, 5) *Tarosero*, 7) *Mokesera*, and 8) *Kurmanita*; and (2) those of 3) *Ngesera*, which are 4) *Ajinyuk* and 6) *Merrenese*. Fadiman has yet another grouping, this time by cattle-colour: I. *Il-ma-tok-kiteg*, "the black ox," or Right Hand, comprising the 1) *Ajer* and 2) *Lokoroi*; II. *Il-ma-ile-mang*, "the red ones," or Left Hand, comprising the 3) *Mokelian*, 5) *Tarosero*, 7) *Mokesera*, and 8) *Kurmanita*; and III. *Il-Ajinyuk*, attached to the Right Hand, and comprising the 4) *Ajinyuk* and 6) *Merrenese*.[b] It is to be emphasized that there is a constant dualism in the structure of Maasai groups, largely expressed in terms of cattle-colour. It is found not only in an antagonistic setting, as when cattle are divided after a raid, but also in the sections into which a tribe may be divided. Thus, the 2) *Il-Waata-kidoo* were divided into *Il-waata-kidoo en-nok*, " the black striped cattle," and *Il-waata-kidoo en-nyoki*, " the red striped cattle "; and the Samburu into *Il-ma-nok-kidoo*, " people of the black cattle," and *Il-ma-dare-kidoo*, " people of the white cattle."

[a] He thus confirms Merker's statement (pp. 14, 46-7) that the male clan was the exogamous unit.

[b] Spelling brought into conformity with the Tucker system; uncertain spellings in [ ].

[c] Hollis noted that when all clans combined in a raid, the 2) *Ajer* and 3) *Mokelian* formed the *Il-ma-ile-kidoo*, and the 3) *Mokesera* and 5) *Kaikuli* the *Il-ma-nok-kidoo*.

[illegible] each other's bodies. There was then legal [illegible] which [illegible] in Book 5. With Books when the Masai sometimes made blood-brotherhood with lions to hasten, for they have an blood-brotherhood of their own. [illegible] among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they could as slaves or [illegible] equals, the [illegible] or "ransom," such as other pastoralists, but not [illegible] Nandi agricultural tribes.

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend more than on the force of public opinion than on the position and duties of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between unintended and premeditated homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, as Merker and others," murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two or three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and 10 goats and sheep for a woman. Fadimatoko gives the figures as 30 for a circumcised man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The Il-Kimas are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is paid. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his elder brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Merker gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the left-overs, bred-in-store, and some new calving are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murdered send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure usually being 40 head of cattle, with one more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then visit the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a woman, *el-mamai*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a man killed a Masai, several members set out and killed several settlers. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "If a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, and the feud then each was concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai, and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Dundas, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *el-mamai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *el-gumbi* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

Modern Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut personal divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief laibon in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount

Lib.	Number		PLCS	Subject	PLCS
[illegible]	810	[The mythological accounts of the origin of			
[illegible]	• 814			[illegible] and dogs	the category 555, p. 359
[illegible]	840			honey as a source of food	860
[illegible]	721			board game	861
[illegible]	724			club carried of wood	865
[illegible]	729			blood as a source of food	865
[illegible]	729			blacksmiths	864
[illegible]	865			slave and lineages	865-869
[illegible]	865			counting and number words	870
[illegible]	865			7-day week	876
[illegible]	865			polygamy	877
				of silence and chief	877
				circumcision	880
				double-edged knife	880
				sorcerers	882
				physicians	883
				questions for war on non- blood	885-885.]

[illegible]

[illegible] and sublineages (or gotra' gaṇ). According to the religious legend, the relationship of the three tribes to one another is that of brothers, whereas the lineages of a tribe stand in relation to them as one to the father. This is the basis for the view that the persons belonging to a tribe stand in a kindred relationship to one another, for which reason, for example, marriage between members of the principal lineage and of one of its sublineages, as well as between those of the sublineages of the same principal lineage, is not permitted.

The division that seems to have the greatest claim to accuracy, according to unanimous reports of the Arab, Wahaibi, and Ibadi, is the following:

Tribe [illegible],
- Lineage [illegible] or [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible]
- Sublineages [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible].
- Lineage [illegible],
- Sublineages [illegible].

[illegible] Tribe [illegible],
- Lineage [illegible],
- Sublineages [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible],
  - [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

The [illegible] and [illegible] adherents to a certain extent used to refer to the [illegible] analogues, whom they half-unwittingly, half-intuitively also call '[illegible]-[illegible]' (1)

[illegible]

1. '[illegible]-[illegible]' [illegible] the results by joining the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or [illegible] with rough-skin (?).

[illegible]

2. [illegible] the bones of the hard roots: rough = hard, [illegible] skin, the roots.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as [illegible] or meat. As the reason for this, [illegible] relate that the [illegible] analogues were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of [illegible] animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

The [illegible] and [illegible] are not infrequently designated as [illegible] compounds, a name formed after that of a war leader, [illegible]. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two subdivisions were once sometime cattle thieves.

The name commanding homage, not only of the [illegible] alone tribe, but of the whole blood people, is the [illegible] [illegible], because both the family of the chief ([illegible]) and that of the sorcerer ([illegible]) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the [illegible] does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly; the firm belief of his subjects in his [illegible] and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the decisions of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, to whom the Wakuafi and Aak also owe their land. The people speak of his saintly person in [illegible] awe, and no one would

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

/M conn-/

father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter [illegible]. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them. In this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the oldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her convent for no more or the reasons contemptible age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one young woman to the bridegroom, to leave the bread with her immediately and come into the house for a few days. With this he wishes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time is deprive the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the house have consumed a cow, they return to the bread, where, without further ceremony, they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the El nagaana and El kibaalo do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 50 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /el/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

[illegible]

(of men) /
by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter 18 of this part.

(of home) or of his age-class associates (of age). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a child younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but on a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the bloat are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between [illegible] brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage: it is precisely in connexion to the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

(L.12)

[illegible] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of Nachenchiko and those of mukkachenchiko is not permitted.

(D.47)

Widows (of goldi, 3 goldi) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in wealth is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man.

(L.6.5)

(S.9.5) The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/ol ovoo-/
of the fight.¹ ol ovoo are petty rivalries like stone-throwing between two kraals or between two clans in succession. The fight becomes graver dissension if the two clans belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. These

Ill. 10. Dance in the warrior kraal 1.

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other (maybe as they live in one district: a condition that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Maasai stand against Maasai is called <u>o</u> <u>nyóng'</u> (pl. <u>o</u> <u>nyóng'i</u>), war <u>en</u> <u>kíkúe</u> (= <u>ríarí</u>) or a war between Maasai and foreign tribes is called.

/ol/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal: for the most part he gads about on visits to neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime: a guard of at least two men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest may go to visit at <u>en</u> <u>ol</u> <u>bul</u> (Maasai kraal, see p. 111 above) or with other people.

[illegible]

[illegible] to divide an equal or possible one cattle receives as much as the other, but before that a few head of cattle are distributed as a special reward and [illegible] to those warriors who killed an enemy in battle, [illegible] to the bravest warrior (if possible). [illegible] to the man who captured the first head of cattle and to the [illegible] who were slain [illegible] and finally to the wounded, each of whom is entitled to the head of cattle that he carried with the blood gushing out of the wound. The number of cattle that the individual of the [illegible] mentioned receives, except for the last who is entitled to only one head of cattle, is determined by the size of the booty and the proportion of the size of the booty's parts according to the above order of succession. [illegible] Every warrior strives as quickly as possible to drive off from the others his share of the booty, but each one also tries to take along with it one or more head not belonging to him. This, of course, gives rise to [illegible] which there are almost always several wounded men. If the booty is too small for an equal division, the warriors form two parties, on the one side the [illegible] warriors, on the other the [illegible] warriors and [illegible] cattle. The former have no slaughtering cry the [illegible] the red cattle, the latter the two words [illegible] the black cattle, after which they are also sometimes named (for example, I heard it to-night). Each warrior which one of the two parties receives the entire booty.

At home in the kraals it was very quiet during the warriors' absence. After the farewell, those remaining behind were home, each [illegible] heavy-hearted in the society about [illegible] or seven, which, however, was soon more or less pushed into the background by the expectation of the spoils that they would bring back. Soon after the farewell the old man was again observing in quiet contemplation in front of his hut and chasing away from his face and head, also as before, with a fly switch [illegible] which, [illegible] (Fig. 97) consisting of a [illegible] cow's tail, the flies constituting a veritable plague in the kraal kraals. Then he took a hair from the switch and made a knot in it for each of his sons who had gone to war.

Fig. 97

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

160-200 miles airline north of Western Masailand, and it is a desert at present. A tribal elder called Maasinda found a way to climb the escarpment at the south of Kieru and some of the tribe then moved into the Kenya Highlands. The legendary Maasinda had six sons who became the founders of the present six Masai clans.

The tribe gradually moved south. At Ngong, near Nairobi, according to their traditions they found a Heaven-born child who became their first Laibon or Medicine Man (Hollis, 1905). Fosbrooke (1948) dated the arrival at Ngong at 1640 on the basis of the geneology of the Laibons founded by that legendary first child. During the next 150 years the Masai moved over 300 miles airline southward.

1800-1890: By 1800 a few Masai had made what proved to be the tribe's maximum penetration into Tanganyika but it was not until about 1880 that they had completed their occupation of what is now the Masai Steppe in Tanganyika (Fig. 1). There had been constant warfare and raiding involved in this settlement, and the margins of Masailand fluctuated somewhat. For a time the Masai occupied the area immediately south of the Ngorongoro Highlands, as well as lands near Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru that are now in other hands.

[See p. 9a.--Analyst]

Their[1]
233 livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle,
[231] sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life
revolves around the grazing and water requirements of
their livestock.

621
561 Their principal units of social organization, as
they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades,
614 villages, and families. Clans have an important place
177 in ethnological discussions and in some areas they
178 determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948).
Our impression is that throughout most of Western Masailand
the concept of clans is of more ethnological than
ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the
effect of the Government administration in Western
Masailand.

..... With the physical and social upheavels
in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1880's through
about 1920, the establishment of African District
Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of
the park and conservation unit, and various development
projects, the clan and other social units have been
greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957) describes this
effect in some detail for the Masai in the former
boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.

[1] [i.e., the Masai.--Analyst]

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

614 634 (a) Sections: A section is defined by Fosbrooke (1948:7) as: "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called ol osho, pl. il oshon. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers."

131 614 634 Most of the Masai in Western Masailand in Kenya are of the Purko section. The Loita section live on the Loita Plateau. Three small sections, the Moitanic, Uasin Gishu, and Siria, live above the Siria [433] Escarpment. The first two are at least partly cultivators. In Tanganyika, the Serenget section occupies the Serengeti Plain (which was named for them), and the Salai section lives in the area between the Serengeti Plain and the Rift, including the Ngorongoro Highlands and the 614 634 southern Loita Plateau. There are a number of sub-sections and divisions of these main sections. The original section organization has been much altered. Grant (1954) describes in detail these alterations for Tanganyika.

#221 #233 Masai was not an unoriented wandering but it was instead a regular seasonal movement from one established area to another, and back. In this sense the movements of the Masai fit the definition of animal migration -- "seasonal and regular passages..." given by Bourlière (1955:203). Each social group apparently had a dry season water supply near which they maintained bomas, as described above. In the wet seasons some of the tribe took the livestock away to take advantage of the more abundant [614] grass, and water in other areas. Since there were well defined areas belonging to or controlled by different clans or sections (Hollis, 1905), the wet season movements of the individual Masai must have been relatively circumscribed. This is the case at present in Western Masailand. Each village has an area where it sends its livestock during the wet season in addition [628] to the water near the base boma. Although these wet season areas may be changed periodically, there is some sort of agreement between different villages regarding division of available grazing, and disputes arise when one village's area is invaded by another.

#233 It appears to us that both in former times and at present the absolute limits to the numbers of livestock a Masai could keep and the pattern of his grazing

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Aikipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamoyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kambe, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endaramuroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Aikipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Laruesa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigirialish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Wanya.